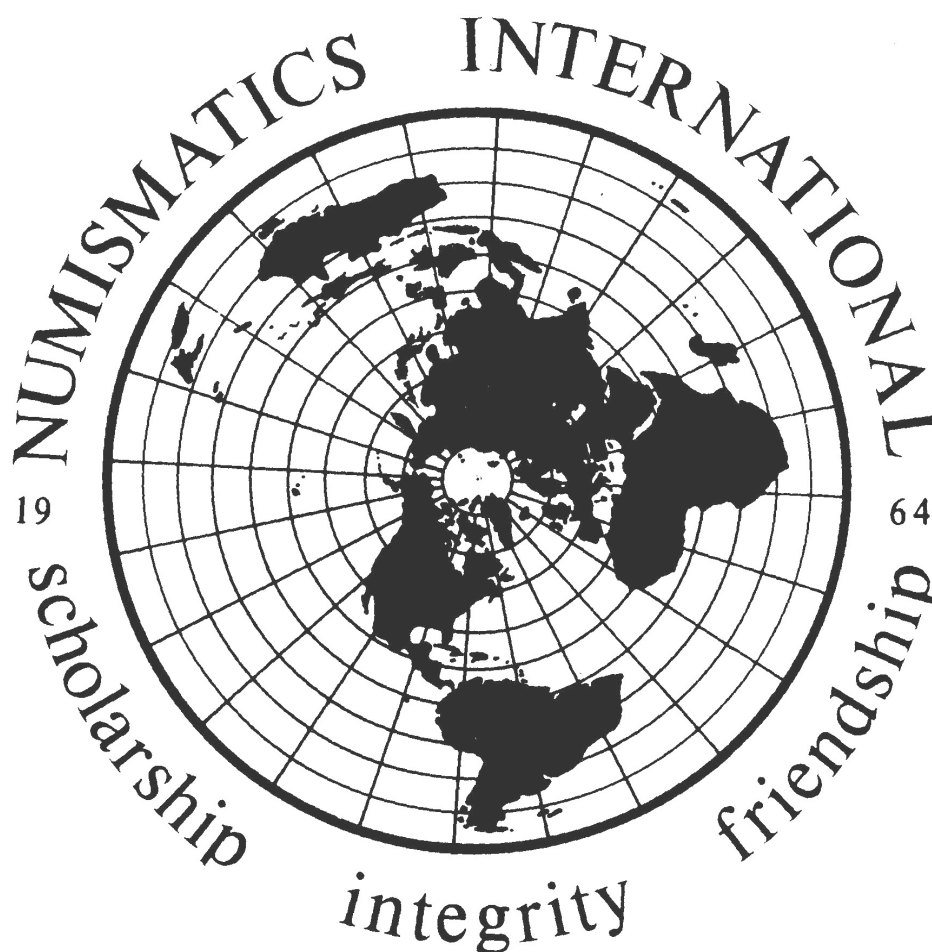


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As we start this new year 2014 we offer a wide variety of interesting articles which I hope you find both enjoyable and illuminating. Our lead article comes from Jean Elsen who provides a well-documented essay on calendars associated with Russian coinage. Next Robert Ronus's article on a token of Allesandro Farnese is interesting both for the token and the related coins. First time contributor David Kenny was sparked to write for us after reading an article of mine; it is affirming to know that your work is read. I hope you find David's article interesting. Kent Ponterio writes about a new discovery coin, the milled 1755 eight escudo from Santa Fe (de Bogota) Colombia. Now we know of both the milled four and eight escudo of 1755. Then we have articles reprinted from Baldwin's and from Heritage Rare Coins. I hope you like these selections that I've chosen for us. Howard Daniel writes on Lao money and is looking for information, please do help if you can. Finally we have some quizzes to pique your curiosity.

Herman Blanton

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Western and Eastern Calendars and the Appearance of Dates on Russian Coins

Jean Elsen, NI #2696

1. Introduction

At the end of the 16th century dates appeared for the first time on Russian coins. These dates were added on kopecks issued by the city-republic of Novgorod. As in Byzantium, letters were used to express numbers, but, instead of the Greek Byzantine alphabet, the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, which derived from the Byzantine, was used¹. Also, as in the Orthodox tradition, years were counted from the “Creation of the World” instead of from “the birth of Christ” (*Anno Domini*). This changed in 1700 when Russia adopted the Julian calendar and Cyrillic dates were gradually replaced by dates in Arabic numerals. I have written this short article, thinking that this subject is of interest to numismatists and collectors of Russian coins and convinced that it is well worth going into more details on this appearance of dating on coins of Novgorod, and later on a few of the seventeenth-century issues of Peter the Great. I start with a history of calendars in Europe and the economic importance of Novgorod as a link between East and West. In the second part, I describe the way dates were expressed on Russian coins and the slow irregular switching from dates in Cyrillic to Arabic numerals. Finally, I have put together a limited bibliography.

2. The Western calendars

2.1. The Julian calendar and *Anno Domini*

Dating depends on how time was reckoned.² The Roman Republic used a lunisolar³ year counted *ab urbe condita* (a.u.c., from the founding of the city, Rome). Since 153 B.C. the two consuls had taken office on January 1 and this day marked probably the beginning of the year and the changing of the year number a.u.c. since that time. This year was shorter than the solar year and corrections had been made very irregularly. By the end of the Roman Republic, it was 3 months behind the sun which caused serious problems in agriculture and many other matters. Following his conquest of Egypt in 706 a.u.c. (48 B.C.) Julius Caesar consulted the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes about a reform of the calendar and, as Pontifex Maximus, introduced a year of 365 days and 6 hours or 365.25 days⁴ with a regular year of 365 days divided into 12 months and a leap-day (*bissextum*) added after February 23 in the years divisible by 4. The years continued to be numbered a.u.c. and the changing of the year date remained 1 January. Introduced in Rome in 708 a.u.c. (46 B.C.), the new calendar was called the *Julian calendar*.

¹ Saint Cyrillius (827-868) and his brother Methodius evangelized the Slavs, the Moravians and the Czechs. Cyrillius composed an alphabet from which derives Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian writing.

² On chronology from the ancient to modern times: the general work by GINZEL 1906. See also BOND 1875b; GIRY 1894; ALEXANDER 1921; POOLE 1934; STRUBBE 1960; VOIGTLÄNDER 1979; BICKERMAN 1980; BIÉMONT 2000. On the history of the Roman calendar: KUBITSCHKE 1928; LIETZMANN 1956. The Roman chronology before Caesar has been studied by MOMMSEN 1859 and MICHELS 1967, the reform of Julius Caesar by MOMMSEN 1886.

³ The lunisolar calendar is based on the annual cycle of the sun and the cycle of the phases of the moon. Twelve lunar months corresponded to approximately 354 days or 11 days less than the solar year and needed a leap-month every 3 years.

⁴ STRUBBE 1960, p. 45, 51; BIÉMONT 2000, p. 224.

Almost six centuries later, Dionysius Exiguus⁵ introduced the *Anno Domini* era that was instituted in 526 A.D. in Western Europe. Dionysius reckoned that the Incarnation of Jesus Christ had occurred on March 25th in the year 754 a.u.c., with his birth nine months later on December 25th.⁶ According to Dionysius, Jesus Christ was born in 753 a.u.c. but he made a mistake of 4 years and Christ was born in 749 a.u.c. Dionysius' system of numbering years A.D. spread gradually through the Western Christian world, once it was adopted by Bede (672/673-735).⁷ The date of Julian years continued to change on 1 January until the eighth century under the Merovingians.⁸ Even in medieval times the Julian year began on 1 January⁹ and this day retained the name *New Year's Day* or an equivalent name (*annus incipiens*, French: *l'an neuf*, *jour de l'an*, Dutch: *Nieuwdag*, *Nieuwjaar*, *Nieuwjaarsdag*, *Jaarsdag*).¹⁰ But in the Middle Ages the changing of the year date mostly took place on another day, for example at Easter (Easter style),¹¹ Christmas (Christmas style) or Saint John (24 June), etc. When the start of the Julian year was again adjusted to 1 January the term *style* was used to designate by the name of *new style*—the year beginning on January 1, while a different start of the year was called *old style*. In 1522 Venice introduced the New Year style or New style. This was legally imposed in Spain and Portugal on 1 January 1556, in France on 1 January 1564, and in Scotland on 1 January 1600.

2.2. The Gregorian reform

Astronomical data concerning the length of the tropical year lay at the base of the reform introduced at the end of the 16th century. Since the real solar year, the time between vernal equinoxes, counted in reality 365.2422 days, the Julian year was 0.0078 days longer (11 minutes and 14 seconds)¹² or one day and nearly 5 hours longer in 128 years. Every 128.2051 years the Julian calendar was about one day ahead of the sun and the spring equinox.¹³ As the years and centuries passed the Julian calendar became more and more inaccurate, with the seasons and the date of Easter falling ever later in the year. In February 1582 the Julian calendar was about 10 days ahead of the solar year: that year the (properly calculated) date of the equinox was March 21 while according to the Julian calendar the spring equinox fell a little after midnight on March 11 and was moving steadily earlier. Since the Roman

⁵ Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470-c. 544) was a monk in Scythia Minor, the modern Dobrudja, actually shared by Romania and Bulgaria. He lived in Rome from about 500, where he was a learned member of the Roman Curia.

⁶ KRUSH 1937.

⁷ Saint Bede (Beda Venerabilis) was an English monk who published many scientific, historic and religious works. JONES 1943.

⁸ BOND 1875a.

⁹ RÜHL 1897; BLACKBURN 2003.

¹⁰ STRUBBE 1960, p. 51.

¹¹ The word *style* (Latin: *stilus*) indicates the day on which the number of the year changed: only in the *New Year style* the year date changed on 1 January. 'New Year' and 'style' were two completely independent events.

¹² SHIELDS 1924, p. 408.

¹³ The equinox (Latin: *aequus*, equal and *nox*, night) is the day when the length of the day is equal to that of the night. In the northern hemisphere the spring equinox occurs on 20 or 21 March, the autumn equinox on 22 or 23 September. The summer solstice (Latin: *solstitium*) occurs on 21 June (the longest day) and the winter solstice on 21 December (the shortest day).

Catholic Church tied the determination and celebration of Easter¹⁴ to the calculated spring equinox of the calendar, the problem became more and more acute until finally Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) issued a papal bull on 24 February 1582, known by its opening words *Inter gravissimas*, ordering the elimination of this steady movement in the date of the equinox.¹⁵ He established a new calendar in which ten days that had been over counted since the Council of Nicea had to be withdrawn from the Julian calendar: the day after October 4, 1582 (a Thursday) would be October 15, 1582 (a Friday).¹⁶ This papal bull did not mention the date of 1 January as the changing of the year since many European countries had already adopted the New Year style. But, on October 4, 1582 only four Catholic countries adopted the new calendar: Italy, Spain, Portugal and Poland. France did so after Sunday, December 9, 1582, the next day being Monday December 20, 1582¹⁷ and in Germany the Catholic States switched to the new calendar in 1583, as did parts of Austria. The other parts of Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, only moved to the new calendar in January 1584, followed by Hungary in 1587. The protestant States adopted the reform much later, only in 1700, and jumped from February 18 to March 1. In England, the reform, a correction of 12 days, only took place in 1752, moving from September 2 to September 14. Sweden changed as late as 1753.

The use of two calendars made it necessary to name the new calendar ‘*Gregorian*’ and the old one ‘*Julian*’. The word *stilus* indicated the year style, the date at which the year began, but it was soon used to designate the new calendar. The Gregorian calendar became the ‘new style’ (*stilus novus, reformatus, correctus* or *gregorianus*) while the Julian calendar was called ‘old style’ (*stilus antiquus* or *vetus*). Although the word ‘*stilus*’ had nothing to do with ‘*calendar*’ it eliminated quickly all the other names and became the only one used in the 17th century¹⁸ since many European countries had adopted the new style (Gregorian calendar) after 1582.

Another system was used for a very long period of time and continued into modern times. In this system the date was indicated in the old and in the new calendar. For example, the Holy Alliance between Russia, Austria and Prussia was dated 14/26

¹⁴ The position of the full moon in March was not determined by astronomic observation but calculated by the calendar. The date of Easter, commemorating the resurrection of Jesus Christ, had been fixed by the Council of Nicea in 325 as the first Sunday after the full moon of March (the vernal equinox). SHIELDS 1924, p. 410. But it was not before the 9th century that Easter was generally fixed on the Sunday after this full moon, which was believed not to occur earlier than 21 March. Easter occurred thus at the earliest on 22 March and this was the case when the date of the full moon was calculated on Saturday 21 March. If the spring full moon was calculated on 18 April and if this day was a Sunday, Easter would fall on 25 April. The date of Easter oscillated between 22 March and 25 April and on this date depended the other moving holidays of the Catholic Church. STRUBBE 1960, p. 34.

¹⁵ On the Gregorian reform: ALEXANDER 1921; VAN WIJK 1932; MOYNE 1982; COYNE 1983.

¹⁶ The rule for the leap-year was changed. The Julian leap-year was a year divisible by 4. In the reformed calendar the leap-year is also divisible by 4 with the leap-day added after February 28. The Gregorian calendar counts as leap-years only those century years where the first two digits are exactly divisible by four: only the years 1600, 2000, 2400, 2800, etc., are leap-years and 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100 and 2200 are not. During the space of 800 years six days are left out – contrary to the Julian calendar – and thus an average length of the calendar-year is obtained which differs only by twenty-six seconds from the length of the tropical year.

¹⁷ LAMONT 1920, p. 18.

¹⁸ STRUBBE 1960, p. 48.

September 1815. Sometimes the two dates were reversed but the date was always clear since the higher number (or the later date) indicated the Gregorian date.¹⁹

3. The Eastern calendars

3.1. The Byzantine calendar

In the Byzantine Empire, the dating of the biblical Creation of the world by the Christian chronographer Annianus of Alexandria led to the introduction of *Anno Mundi* eras based on this date. The most important of these was the *Etos Kosmou* (Ετος Κόσμου) or *Era of the World*, also named *Creation Era of Constantinople*. It was believed that the date of the Creation was 1 September 5509, B.C. and year one was supposed to be 1 September 5509 B.C. to 31 August 5508 B.C.²⁰ Years were counted *Anno Mundi* (*Ab Origine Mundi*), 'from the foundation of the World'. The number of the year did not change on New Year, Easter or another day but on 1 September.²¹ Grumel has indeed shown that the indiction and the Byzantine year both began on 1 September (1 September style).²²

3.2. The Old Russian Calendar

In 6496 Anno Mundi or 6496 – 5508 = 988 A.D. Prince Vladimir of Kiev adopted Christianity, the Cyrillic alphabet and the era 'from the Creation of the World' transmitted from Constantinople to Kiev.²³ In this era the years were counted "from the Creation", an event that was placed in the year 5509 B.C. The old Russian calendar began however on 1 March, six months after the beginning of the Byzantine Anno Mundi year with the same number, and became later the calendar of all the Russian lands. The changing of the date of the Russian year was kept on March 1 up

¹⁹ STRUBBE 1960, p. 49.

²⁰ Since Jesus Christ was born c. 5504 A.M. his birthday fell actually in 4 B.C.

²¹ 1 September is still used in the Eastern Orthodox Church for the beginning of the liturgical year.

²² The Byzantine indiction, an institutional cycle of 15 years, commenced 1 September as of 312 A.D. in Constantinople where the Roman calendar was adopted. The first day of the indiction cycle moved to 23 September (conception of Saint John the Baptist) and returned to 1 September as of the first day of the civil year on 1 September 462, the day that inaugurated the new style. GRUMEL 1954, p. 128, 138, 142-143. Concerning the civil year, the religious year and the liturgical year, this author wrote, p. 139 : « *Aucune date ne pouvait mieux convenir pour sa célébration, aux yeux des Byzantins, que le jour même où l'année civile a son commencement. L'année religieuse, l'année liturgique se superposait ainsi à l'année civile, et les deux n'en faisaient qu'une* », p. 140 : « *Il est ainsi vraisemblable que lorsque l'indiction passa au 1^{er} septembre, ce jour-ci fut considéré seulement comme le début de l'année civile...* » and p. 142 : « *Quant au 1^{er} septembre, qui succéda au 23 septembre comme commencement de l'indiction et début d'année civile, il devint aussi début d'année ecclésiastique, quand on en fit une fête religieuse en y attachant le souvenir de la première prédication du Sauveur* ».

²³ On the christianization of Russia and the Cyrillic calendar: GRIVEC 1960; MÜLLER 1970. The Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabets were studied by V.N. Shchepkin in his *Manuel of Russian Paleography*, published in Moscow in 1918. DONNERT 1991, p. 89, wrote : « *Bei dem von Konstantin geschaffenen slawischen Alphabet handelte es sich um das sogenannte glagolitische Alphabet, um im wesentlich frei erfundene Schriftzeichen.(...) Jedoch ungeachtet der Vorzüge, die glagolitische Alphabet auszeichneten, wurde dieses vom 9. Jh. an mehr und mehr vom sogenannten kyrillischen Alphabet verdrängt, benannt nach Konstantins Mönchnamen "Kyrill". Die kyrillische Schrift ist lediglich die Anpassung der griechischen Schrift an die Slawische Sprache. Neue Zeichen wurden in kyrillische Alphabet nur für die Laute der slawischen Sprache eingefügt, die das Griechische nicht kannte* » and also, p. 93 : « *Als am Ende des 10. Jh. die kirchenslawische Literatur immer mehr von der vordringenden griechisch-byzantinischen Literatur verdrängt wurde, übernahm Kiev das von den aus Thessalonich stammenden heiligen Kyrill und Method ausgehende reiche Erbe und errichtete darauf den festen Bau der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche* ».

to the end of the 15th century when the Moscow government decided to begin the calendar year with 1 September.²⁴ Church tradition also placed the adoption of the September 1 style at the end of the 15th century. Ivan III would decide in Anno Mundi 7000 (7000 – 5508 = Anno Domini 1492) to adopt the Byzantine year and change the date of the year on 1 September. This way the Russian year A.M. 7000 only lasted for six months, from 1 March to 31 August 1492.

4. Silver ingots, dengi and kopecks and the role of Novgorod

4.1. The Novgorodian grivna ingot and the rouble

Not surprisingly, the first Russian dates appeared on coins struck in Novgorod,²⁵ the main Russian city with relations with the West. It was the most eastern town to which western merchants, mainly Germans called *Novgorodfahrer*, were allowed to travel since the twelfth century.²⁶ Organized in the Hanseatic League since the end of the 12th century, these merchants maintained a monopolistic trade system for several centuries.²⁷ The Hanse imported European products, lead for church roofs, wine, spices for magnates' tables, enamels from the Rhineland and Limoges and later mainly Flemish drapery. Large quantities of silver coins were brought to Novgorod by the German merchants to pay for the goods (furs, squirrel hides, amber, wood, wax) brought to *Peterhof*, the *Hansekontor* in Novgorod, by the Russian merchants from all places in the very large territory in the North and the North-East regions dependent on Novgorod. Beeswax and especially furs soon occupied an important place among the exports from Novgorod as did the import of silver from the West.²⁸ In Novgorod these silver coins had to be melted down into ingots of a fixed mass and very high purity which were used in commercial payments.²⁹ The silver ingot was named *grivna* (diminutive *grivenka*)³⁰ and circulated in all of Russia.³¹ From the 13th century a new name appeared in Novgorod and replaced the old name *grivna* or *grivenka* to indicate the silver ingot: *rouble*. The *grivna-rouble* was the silver ingot of 204g and the *grivna* became a unit of mass named *grivna skalovaja*.³² The use of

²⁴ ROSSOVSKAJA 1936; ACHELIS 1954. According to STRUBBE 1960, p. 59, the 1 September style was introduced from Byzantium into Russia around the middle of the 13th century. According to SEVERIN 1965, p. 12, the March calendar was used until the 14th century. On the other hand, BOND 1875b, p. 128 and GIRY 1894, p. 103, were convinced that the beginning of the year was fixed at the spring equinox at least since the 11th century and they named the calendar starting 21 March *Russian style*.

²⁵ Archeological evidence indicates that the city of Novgorod (*Nova gorod*, 'the new town') has been founded in the tenth century on the Volchov River, just north of Lake Ilmen. MARTIN 1995, p. 39.

²⁶ Before 1200, the German merchants had already founded their own establishment called *Peterhof* (*curia Sancti Petri*) close to the Novgorod market. Novgorod concluded commercial treaties with Scandinavians and Germans in 1191-1192. MARTIN 1995, p. xvii. By 1207-1209 the Germans had received their first privileges from prince Constantin. GOETZ 1922; JOHANSEN 1953; SZEFTTEL 1958; HEINSIUS 1962; THOMPSON 1967; KARGER 1973; BIRNBAUM 1981.

²⁷ GOETZ 1922; ANGERMANN 2002a; ; ANGERMANN 2002b.

²⁸ ATTMAN 1981; ANGERMANN 2002b; SCHUBERT 2002.

²⁹ BAUER 1929; MEDVEDEV 1963.

³⁰ The theoretical mass of the silver *grivna*-ingot is 204 g. ELSSEN 1995. SPASSKY 1967, p. 74, 109, also mentioned this mass of 204 g for a *grivenka* of silver. On Russian metrology see now also PRITSAK 1998; WITTHÖFT 2002.

³¹ SPASSKY 1967, p. 63: « *In Novgorod the imported silver was made into the customary grivna-ingots suitable for the whole of Russia* ».

³² When the *grivna-rouble* ceased to exist as a silver ingot, the name *grivna skalovaja* (derived from the English *scale*; the *scales* = the *balance*, French: *la balance*; Dutch: *de balans*; the Dutch word for scale is *schaal*) survived as a unit of mass. The *grivna skalovaja* was divided into 48 *zolotniks*

these ingots explains why the small silver coin, the *denga*, was struck rather late in Russia, late in the second part of the 14th century, and even much later in Novgorod (in 1420) than in the other, more eastern situated, Russian mints.

4.2. Novgorod at the end of the 15th century

The grand prince of Moscow, Ivan III (1462-1505), who wanted to favor the trade activities of Moscow,³³ defeated the Novgorodian army in 1471 and occupied the city seven years later in 1478—his greatest success.³⁴ Novgorod had to accept a governor appointed by Ivan but the powerful commercial city maintained a large measure of autonomy for a long time after the grand prince had put an end to the independence of the Novgorodian republic.³⁵ Some 70 Novgorod families were deported and given estates far away. The grand prince closed the Novgorod *Kontor* of the German Hanse in 1494, confiscated all their goods for an amount of 96,000 Lübeck marks and deported the 49 merchants of the *Peterhof* to Moscow.³⁶ The Novgorod *Kontor* remained closed for 20 years and was reopened in 1514, but it was never the same again. Novgorod had lost much of its importance by 1494.³⁷ The main economic center had moved to the more eastern Moscow³⁸ and even to Khazan on the Volga after it was taken by Tsar Ivan IV in 1552, but German merchants continued to visit *Peterhof*.³⁹ At that time, the Russian trade remained mainly an export trade (flax, hemp, tallow, wax, and furs) with persistent large export surpluses of which an important part flowed through the Baltic Sea. These exports continued to be paid for with an important inflow of silver and gold.⁴⁰

4.3. The Novgorodian dengi

of 4.25g and into 1,200 pochkas of 0.17g. The smallest unit of mass was the *dolja* and the theoretical mass of the *grivna skalovaja* was 4,800 *doli* of 0.0425g, that of the *zolotnik* 100 *doli*, and the *pochka* was 4 *doli*. ELSEN 1995, p. 12-13. The *dolja* was very probably the theoretical mass of thick nude barley grains. In Moscow, the rouble became a unit of payment, a money of account, equal to 200 dengi, at the end of the 14th century. SPASSKY 1967, p. 74, 102-103. After 1420, the rouble of account was equal to 216 dengi in Novgorod. It should be mentioned that the Russian monetary system is the oldest decimal (in fact centesimal) system in Europe.

³³ Moscow, on the Moskva, was conveniently situated on the river trade routes between the Baltic Sea and the Black and Caspian Seas. It had a huge forest hinterland which provided the valuable furs that composed a large part of the Moscow trade. The expanding trade between Moscow and the West is illustrated by the fact that Ivan III hired Hungarian minters to issue gold ducats. According to GRIERSON 1976, p. 286, they were not put into circulation since only a few patterns were produced. Spassky—on the contrary—believed that this undated ducat, precisely imitating the Hungarian type and called *ugorskij* (*Hungarian*), was a regular coin that circulated in Russia. In the 15th century Hungary indeed dominated the supply of gold flowing into Russia. Spassky cited a document of 1484 stating that a Moscow gold coin was sent by the grand prince to two foreign craftsmen employed in his service to use for travelling expenses (“*na protor*”). He also mentioned that Potin had discovered a reference to Moscow gold coins attributable to the early part of Ivan III’s reign. SPASSKY 1960, p. 108-109 and fig. 76. See also POTIN 1975; HUGHES 1993.

³⁴ LESNIKOV 1961; KIRCHNER 1966; BIRNBAUM 1993. For the Grand Prince of Moscow the annexation of Novgorod with its rich trade and its large dependent territory represented a huge increase in power, resources and prestige. He was therefore named *Ivan the Great*.

³⁵ FISHER 1943; FENNELL 1961; HEINSIUS 1962; DOLLINGER 1964; RABA 1967a; ATTMAN 1973; ANGERMANN 2002a.

³⁶ DOLLINGER 1964, p. 290, 363, 384.

³⁷ LLOYD 1991, p. 363: « *to that extent its closure was more of a symbol than a critical blow* ».

³⁸ HUGHES 1993.

³⁹ ANGERMANN 2002c.

⁴⁰ FISHER 1943; ATTMAN 1973, chapter V.

After Novgorod had fallen under the control of Ivan III, the city remained an important economic center.⁴¹ It kept its own system of account that was also used in Pskov, another important town economically turned toward the West.⁴² When the Novgorod and Pskov silver *dengi* were finally struck, their mass was double that of the Moscow *dengi*. The silver rouble-ingot was not produced anymore but the name 'rouble' survived as a unit of account. In Novgorod the rouble was equal to 216 *dengi* while the rouble of account of Moscow was equivalent to 200 *dengi*.⁴³

5. The appearance of the kopeck in Moscow

In 1534 the young Ivan IV became grand prince of Moscow (*knjaz veliki vseja Rusi*). That year, his mother Elena Glinskaya introduced a monetary reform: together with the traditional silver *denga*, the silver coin struck since the fourteenth century, a new coin with double the mass and value was added to the monetary system of the grand princes of Moscow, which soon became the Russian monetary system. The traditional 'horseman brandishing a sword' on the *denga* of Vasili III Ivanovich (1505-1533) remained on the new small *denga* but now represented the grand prince. On the new larger silver coin, the mounted grand prince holding a downward lance was depicted.⁴⁴ This new coin was issued in the name of Ivan IV and came to be called *kopje* (lance, spear) or *kopejnaja denga* ('*denga* with the lance' and also 'lance money'.) Later, the diminutive *kopejka* (little lance) was popularly applied to these pieces, called kopecks in the West. Kopecks were initially mentioned in the Pskov Chronicles for year 7043 (1535 A.D.) which cited a decree for issuance of new silver coins without alloy. This way the kopeck was worth two silver *dengi*.

At this time the Novgorod *denga* was called *novgorodka* and the Moscow *denga* *moscowka*. After the monetary reform of 1534, Novgorod and Pskov lost their semi-independence and their minting privileges. The new Moscow rouble, a money of account worth 200 *dengi*, was given the value of 100 kopecks while the Novgorod rouble of account of 216 *dengi* was replaced by the Moscow rouble of account.

Ivan IV became tsar and grand prince of all the Russian lands (*tsar i knjaz veliki vseja Rusi*) in 1547. He died in 1584 with the name Ivan the Terrible and was succeeded by his son Feodor Ivanovich (1584-1598) and Feodor's brother-in-law Boris Feodorovich Godunov (1598-1605). Boris Godunov had married the daughter of Ivan IV and, after the death of Feodor Ivanovich, Godunov was elected tsar by the Zemski Sobor (the 'assembly of the land'), the first Russian parliament. After Godunov's death in 1605 the 'Time of Troubles' (*smut*) began. Godunov's son, Feodor Borisovich Godunov, governed for only a few months in 1605 and an impostor, a first False Dmitri (1605-1606) till 1606. A Boyar, Vasili Shuiski (1606-1610), became tsar in 1606. In 1607 a second False Dmitri appeared and claimed the Russian throne. In 1610, a third Dmitri, acclaimed by a mob of Cossacks, was captured within months and executed in Moscow. Finally, at the head of an army, a son of the Polish king Sigismund, Vladislav Sigismundovich, occupied Moscow and the throne during the

⁴¹ ATTMAN 1973; ATTMAN 1981.

⁴² KIRCHNER 1966.

⁴³ SPASSKY 1967, p. 103.

⁴⁴ This reform prescribed striking 300 kopecks in the *grivna skalovaja* which brought the theoretical mass of the kopeck to $204 \text{ g}/300 = 0.68\text{g}$ each. In old units this was $4,800 \text{ doli}/300 = 16 \text{ doli}$. The mass of the *denga* was accordingly 8 *doli* or 0.34g. A half-*denga* or *polushka* was also struck and the rouble was counted at 100 kopecks = 200 *dengi* = 400 *polushki*. In the old *grivna skalovaja* of 204 g were accordingly struck 1,200 *polushki* of 0.17g.

years 1610-1612. The Time of Troubles came to an end in 1613, after the Zemski Sobor elected Michail Feodorovich (1613-1645) to be the new tsar, the first of the Romanov dynasty.

6. Dates on Novgorodian kopecks

It was during the reign of Feodor Ivanovich that dated coins first appeared in Russia. Dated coins had already been minted regularly for a few centuries in Western Europe where these dates were first written in Roman numerals and later replaced by dates in Arabic numerals.⁴⁵ Under western influence, the earliest dates appeared on coins issued in Novgorod, the “*window to the West*”, in 1596. Dates were added only on the *Novgorodka*, the kopeck struck in the mint of Novgorod. They did not appear on coins struck in other Russian mints except in Pskov, the other western Russian town, where dated kopecks were struck in 1599. The writing of the date was quite different from what it was in the West. Like the Russian alphabet and calendar, Russian reckoning and numbers are derived from the Byzantine ones. In the old Russian era the dates were shown by the corresponding Russian letters, the Old Cyrillic letters (Church Slavonic):

| Byzantine numbers | | | Russian numbers | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| $\alpha = A = 1$ | $\iota = I = 10$ | $\rho = P = 100$ | $\alpha, Я, A = 1$ | $I = 10$ | $AI = 11$ | $P = 100$ |
| $\beta = B = 2$ | $\kappa = K = 20$ | $\varsigma = \Sigma = 200$ | $B = 2$ | $K = 20$ | $BI = 12$ | $C = 200$ |
| $\gamma = \Gamma = 3$ | $\lambda = \Lambda = 30$ | $\tau = T = 300$ | $\Gamma = 3$ | $\text{Л} = 30$ | $\Gamma I = 13$ | $T = 300$ |
| $\delta = \Delta = 4$ | $\mu = M = 40$ | | $\text{Д} = 4$ | $M = 40$ | $\text{Д} I = 14$ | $Y = 400$ |
| $\varepsilon = E = 5$ | $\nu = N = 50$ | | $E = 5$ | $H = 50$ | $EI = 15$ | $\Phi = 500$ |
| $\zeta = S = 6$ | | | $S = 6$ | $\text{Ж} = 60$ | $SI = 16$ | $X = 600$ |
| $\zeta = Z = 7$ | | | $3 = 7$ | $O = 70$ | $3I = 17$ | $\Psi = 700$ |
| $\eta = H = 8$ | | | $\text{И} = 8$ | $\Pi = 80$ | $\text{И} I = 18$ | $\tilde{\omega} = 800$ |
| $\theta = \Theta = 9$ | | | $\Theta = 9$ | $Y = 90$ | $\Theta I = 19$ | $\text{Ц} = 900$ |
| | | | $\text{З} = \text{'thousands'}$ | | | |

Because the dates were reckoned from the ‘Creation of the World’ (which was believed to be 5508 B.C.), the initial numeral of the date, as recorded on documents, letters and coins at the end of the sixteenth century (c. 7100 Anno Mundi), was understood to be 7 and this numeral and the ‘thousands’ symbol З were always omitted.⁴⁶ Only two numerals, and sometimes three, were used. On the kopeck issued in 1596 the letters under the horse HO·PД mean ‘Novgorod 104’ and indicate year 7104 from ‘the foundation of the World’ or 7104 – 5508 = 1596. The kopecks of the next years have HO·PE (Novgorod 105 or 1597), HOPS (Novgorod 106 or 1598), HO·P3 (107 or 1599). In 1599 a kopeck of Pskov also gave a date: ПИ·P3.⁴⁷

A few years later the date PSI (116 or 1608) was added on Novgorod kopecks of Vasili Ivanovich Shuiski (1606-1610), and, two years later, ПИИ indicated 118 or 1610.⁴⁸ During the Swedish occupation of Novgorod (1611-1617) dated kopecks

⁴⁵ On dating systems used on coins: ROCKWELL 1974; LEVINSON 2007.

⁴⁶ In 1492 A.D. or 7000 Anno Mundi the first numeral was supposed to be kept for one millennium.

⁴⁷ SPASSKY 1960, p. 117, fig. 82, 5.

⁴⁸ At the end of the sixteenth century the mass of the kopeck had been kept unchanged (0.68g) since the reform of Elena Glinskaya in 1534. During Shuiski’s reign, gold was valued at ten times the

were also issued.⁴⁹ Michail Feodorovich (1613-1645), the first tsar of the Romanov dynasty, struck a kopeck in Novgorod with ПКЄ (= 125 or 7125 – 5508 = 1617.)⁵⁰

7. Dated coins of Tsar Alexei Michailovich (1645-1676)

7.1. The dated 1654 rouble and polupoltinnik

In 1654, the year of the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia, Tsar Alexei Michailovich (1645-1676) decided to bring into circulation silver coins with the value of a rouble by restriking talers purchased from foreign merchants. After having them obliterated on both sides, they were struck with an obverse showing the tsar riding a horse to the right and holding a sceptre. On the reverse the value РУБЛЬ ('rouble') appeared under the two-headed eagle⁵¹ and, above it, the Cyrillic date ПѢ or 162 for 7162, or 7162 – 5508 = 1654 A.D. The quarter rouble, *polupoltina* or *polupoltinnik*, was also struck with the same date ПѢ on talers cut into four equal parts.⁵² The silver rouble of 1654 was worth 64 old kopecks, still in circulation, and the polupoltina 16 kopecks. At the same time the Moscow mint issued copper *jefimki*, round poltinniks or half-roubles in the naive belief that the copper coins would circulate at the value of the silver ones.

7.2. The date 1655 in Arabic numerals on countermarked large western silver coins

At the beginning of 1655, the devalued rouble was withdrawn from circulation and only the old silver kopecks remained as the legal currency. The Moscow Mint started to countermark leeuwendaalders, patagons, ducats and talers circulating in Russia, thus producing a Russian coin. The round countermark showed the mounted tsar holding the downward lance, the normal obverse of a kopeck, and above it, in a rectangle, the date 1655 in Arabic numerals. The large silver coin bearing these two countermarks, called *jefimok*,⁵³ was legally valued at 64 kopecks.⁵⁴

8. The chekhi of Sevsk of 1686

In 1686, a billon coin of only a quarter silver content, called *chekh*, was mechanically struck in Sevsk for circulation in the regained territory of Little Russia (Ukraine). It was issued in the names of co-rulers Peter I and Ivan V during their older sister Sophia's regency (1682-1689) and bore the date 1686 in Arabic numerals.⁵⁵

After 1655, this was the second time a Russian coin bore a 'western' date with Arabic numerals and using the Julian calendar. The circulation area of the chekhi was limited

value of silver and the *ugorskij*, the Hungarian gold ducat of about 3.4g, had a value of 34g silver. This corresponded to exactly 34g/0.68 g = 50 kopecks or a half-rouble.

⁴⁹ SPASSKY 1960, p. 117, fig. 83, 4-6.

⁵⁰ SPASSKY 1960, p. 119, fig. 86, 10.

⁵¹ ALEF 1966.

⁵² SPASSKY 1960, p. 127, fig. 91, 9-10.

⁵³ The old name for taler was *Joachimsthaler*, the large silver coin produced in the old center of Joachimsthal (Jahimov in Bohemia.) It passed in Russian as *jefimok* (plural *jefimki*) and meant 'large silver coin', or taler.

⁵⁴ SPASSKY 1960, p. 128.

⁵⁵ On the obverse the chekh shows the crowned double eagle within a circular legend formed by the Latin initials I A P A D G C & M D T M & P & A R A for I(oannes) A(lexii) Filius P(etrus) A(lexii) Filius D(ei) G(ratia) C(zari) & M(agni) D(uces) T(otius) M(agnae) & P(arvae) & A(lbae) R(ussiae) A(utocratores). The Latin legend on the reverse is MON(eta) NOV(a) FACTA SIEV(sk) A(nno) 1686. SPASSKY 1960, p. 135; SEVERIN 1965, p. 20, no. 8.

to the western part of Russia, close to territories using the Julian or Gregorian calendars.

9. Undated and dated silver coins of Peter the Great, 1696-1699

9.1. Undated altyns

The production of *wire money*, dengi and kopecks of oval shape, continued under the regency of Sophia (1682-1689), the older sister of Peter the Great (1689-1725).⁵⁶ But new and larger coins were also created to meet the needs of a rapidly growing economy. A silver coin with a value higher than 1 kopeck was struck in Moscow. The new coin, still issued on an oval flan, was valued at 3 kopecks and called *altyn*.⁵⁷ As on the kopeck, it showed the mounted tsar holding the downward lance and a six-line legend on the reverse. Altyns were struck in the name of Ivan V, Peter's brother,⁵⁸ in his own name and in both names during Sophia's regency. They bear no date except in the year 1700 on an altyn⁵⁹ mentioning the Cyrillic date СИ or 208.

9.2. Dated silver kopecks

Dates expressed in Cyrillic letters reappeared on silver kopecks of Peter in 1696-1699.⁶⁰ Under the horse, the letters СДГ mean 204 Goda (ГОДА = year) or 7204 – 5508 = 1696. Very large quantities of dated kopecks were also issued in the next three years: CE = 205 or 7205 – 5508 = 1697, CS = 206 or 1698 and C3 = 207 or 1699.

9.3. Dated silver half-roubles

In 1699 the first known silver poltina (half-rouble or 50 kopecks) was struck in Moscow with a Cyrillic date, that normally should have been C3 = 207 or 1699 A.D., but the Cyrillic 3 was replaced by the Greek letter Σ in the date at the end of the reverse legend: CΣ ГОДѸ⁶¹.

10. The Adoption of the Julian calendar by Peter the Great

After his journey to Western Europe in 1697-1698 Peter the Great decided to modernize his country and undertook reforms in most of the political, military, maritime, economic, religious, social and monetary fields.⁶² The Russian alphabet was simplified and, on 1 January 1700, he eliminated the old Russian calendar and adopted the Christian era based on the Julian calendar. Numbering of the years began in Russia from 'the birth of Christ' (*Anno Domini*) from now on instead of from 'the

⁵⁶ LAPA 1967.

⁵⁷ The *altyn* was an old unit of account and stemmed from the Tatar word *alti* meaning *six*. Altyn was equal to six dengi or 3 kopecks. SPASSKY 1960, p. 105.

⁵⁸ Ivan died in 1696 when Peter became sole tsar.

⁵⁹ SEVERIN 1965, p. 21, n° 17.

⁶⁰ During the 17th century the theoretical mass of the kopeck was lowered to the 1/480th part of the *grivna skalovaja* (204 g/480 = 0,425 g), that of the *denga* to 1/960th part (0,213 g) and that of the *polushka* (half-denga) to 1/1.920th part (0,106 g). The mass of the kopeck was thus reduced from 16 doli (0,68 g) to 10 doli (0,425 g), the *denga* from 8 (0,34 g) to 5 (0,213 g) and the *polushka* from 4 (0,17 g) to 2 ½ doli (0,106 g). Expressed in the later unit of mass, the *funt* (pound; German: *Pfund*; Dutch: *pond*), the double of the *grivna skalovaja* (408 g) or 9.600 doli, the later kopeck was the 1/960th part of the *funt* (10 doli).

⁶¹ This unique specimen is in the collection of the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. SPASSKY 1960, p. 143, fig. 104 (pattern poltinas, 1699); SEVERIN 1965, p. 21, n° 16 and pl. 1, 16.

⁶² CRACRAFT 2003.

Creation of the World' (*Anno Mundi*). Peter did not adopt the Gregorian calendar but the Julian, that was still in use in neighbouring protestant countries⁶³ and in England, but had long since been abandoned in large parts of catholic Western Europe in favor of the Gregorian calendar.⁶⁴ Before Peter's reform, the year started on 1 September (which ended Russia's tax year) but the tsar fixed the starting day of the year on 1 January: the day after December 31, 7208 (January 1, 7208) was named January 1, 1700.⁶⁵

Bond, Giry and Strubbe dated the introduction of the New Year style in Russia on 1 January 1725.⁶⁶ However, Peter's decree, dated December 19, 7208/1699 and published by Lamont, indicates clearly that the day after December 31, 7208 was January 1st, 1700:

*« (...) And at present the year 1699 since the birth of our Lord is approaching its end, and on the first of the coming January will conjointly begin the new year of 1700 and the new century (...) the Grand Emperor has decreed ... to write from the first of this January the year 1700 since the birth of our Lord ».*⁶⁷

11. Cyrillic dates on Russian coins according to the Julian calendar

11.1. Silver coins

From that year 1700 (1700 + 5508 = 7208 in the old calendar) coins were dated in accordance with the new chronology in *Anno Domini* and no longer in *Anno Mundi*. In the old calendar ЧИ or 208 was 7208 and corresponded to 1700 in the Julian calendar (7208- 5508 = 1700.) To mark this number, an inclined line crossed by two small lines was indicated in front of the corresponding letter A to represent 1000: #A. The date 1700 was written #AΨ since Ψ was 700. Sometimes # is missing and even the A before Ψ. On some coins a date ΨБИ should be inscribed in full #AΨБИ or 1712. The adoption of the new dating is shown clearly on an altyn struck in 1700: the Old Cyrillic date ЧИ, that appeared for the first time on altyns issued that year, was revised on some coin dies into ЦΨ (700).⁶⁸ The inscriptions of numbers, thus also dates, were marked with a line bar (˘) called *titlo* above the number or date. This tradition had also originated in Byzantium.

In that same year 1700, as a first stage of Peter's monetary reform, the newly built Mint in Moscow began minting mechanically round silver coins, 10 dengi (5 kopecks), *grivennik* (10 kopecks), *polupoltinnik* (1/4 rouble), *poltina* (1/2 rouble) and rouble,⁶⁹ on which Cyrillic numeral dates were also used between 1700 and 1722. The dates were #AΨ (1700), #AΨA (1701), #AΨB (1702), #AΨГ (1703),... and the last ones #AΨКА (1721) and #AΨKB (1722).

11.2. Copper coins

⁶³ Several protestant states adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1700.

⁶⁴ ANISOMOV 1993; TAYLOR 2005.

⁶⁵ This reform aroused the opposition of the Eastern Church. ROSSOVSKAJA 1936; ACHELIS 1954. In 1709 the calendar (the Julian calendar) was first printed in Russia, 127 years after the Gregorian calendar had been introduced in Poland, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

⁶⁶ BOND 1875a, BOND 1875b, p. 128, GIRY 1894, p. 103 and STRUBBE 1960, p. 52, 59.

⁶⁷ LAMONT 1966, p. 23-24.

⁶⁸ SEVERIN 1965, p. 21, n° 18.

⁶⁹ The irregular oval-shaped kopecks, similar to the earlier kopecks, continued well into the reign of Peter and circular kopecks were first struck in 1713.

It was also in 1700 that Peter the Great began his mechanically struck round copper coinage, all bearing Cyrillic dates, in the new Moscow mint, which produced all copper coins until 1756.⁷⁰ Different values were issued: 1/8 kopeck (*polupolushka*), 1/4 kopeck (*polushka*), 1/2 kopeck (*denga*), kopeck (in 1704), 5 kopecks (in 1723). In 1712 both writings #AΨBI and #AΨIB occurred. On the *denga* and the kopeck the dates were Cyrillic until 1717.

11.3. Gold coins

Ducats and double ducats (*chervonetz* and double *chervonetz*) were minted with Cyrillic dates: #AΨA (1701), #AΨB (1702), ... 'til #AΨ3 (1707). None were struck in 1708 and 1709.⁷¹

12. Replacement of dates in Cyrillic numerals by Arabic numerals on coins of Peter the Great

12.1 Silver coins

In 1706 and 1707, Peter again issued *checki* and, this time, also half-*checki* for the provinces of White and Little Russia. They bore Peter's effigy, the double eagle and no value but Cyrillic dates #AΨS and #AΨ3. In 1707-1709 *checki* were struck with Arabic numerals.⁷²

At the same time a date with Arabic numerals appeared on a rouble, a half-rouble and a quarter rouble in 1707, and again in 1710. Arabic numerals appeared also on the 3 kopecks of 1711, the 3 kopecks, the 10 kopecks, the half-rouble and the rouble of 1712. But a 10 kopecks of 1712 again had a Cyrillic date.

In 1713, all silver coins bore dates with Arabic numerals. They appeared on altyns, 5 kopecks (*pjatachok*), 10 kopecks and half-roubles in 1713 and 1714.⁷³ In 1713 the coinage reform touched the kopeck, which now was mechanically struck in round shape. Old kopecks continued circulating for a few years and were withdrawn from circulation at the end of 1717. In 1713 and 1714 round kopecks were also struck with Arabic numerals in the date on the reverse, under the eagle. 'Wire' kopecks were again issued in 1715.⁷⁴

In 1718 and 1719 Cyrillic dates were again used except on the 10 kopecks which had these dates in Arabic numerals. In 1720, 1721 and 1722, all dates were again Cyrillic. On the 10 kopecks of 1720 some were Cyrillic, others Arabic.⁷⁵ Starting with 1723, dates were written with Arabic numerals on all the silver coins. In the new capital, Saint Petersburg, founded in 1703, the new mint built in this town (C.Π.Б.) commenced issuing coins in 1724, all dated with Arabic numerals.⁷⁶ This chaotic 'back-and-forth' reform shows clearly the resistance of popular tradition against the coercive and authoritative reforms of Peter the Great.⁷⁷

12.2. Copper coins

⁷⁰ BREKKE 1977, p. 9, 11.

⁷¹ SEVERIN 1958, p. 1-3.

⁷² SEVERIN 1965, p. 29-33.

⁷³ SEVERIN 1965, p. 35-37; SPASSKY 1967, p. 150, 157.

⁷⁴ SEVERIN 1965, p. 35-37.

⁷⁵ SEVERIN 1965, p. 37-44.

⁷⁶ BREKKE 1977, p. 12.

⁷⁷ ANISOMOV 1993.

In 1710, 1714 and 1718-1722 dates also appeared in Arabic numerals on the copper polushka. On some polushkas the date was composed of mixed Cyrillic and Arabic numerals, for example 17K for 1720 or 17K1 for 1721, minted together with dates in Cyrillic numerals and dates in Arabic numerals.⁷⁸ On the denga and the kopeck, Arabic numerals appeared in 1718⁷⁹ and again in 1724 on the 2 kopecks (*groschen*) and in 1723-1725 on the 5 kopecks-piece (*pjatak*).⁸⁰

12.3. Gold coins

The change to dates with Arabic numerals happened rather quickly and definitively on the gold coins which faced much less popular resistance since these coins were used by merchants and in international trade. Starting with 1710 all Russian gold coins bore dates with Arabic numerals. In 1711, a Russian coin was used for the first time for political reasons. After the capture of the fortress of Azov in 1696 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1710-1711, followed by the Treaty of Pruth (12 July 1711), Azov was returned to Turkey. On the ducat of 1711 the eagle is holding four charts (maps) in its beak and talons symbolising Peter the Great's sovereignty over the four seas: the Baltic, White, Caspian and Black Seas, but, after the return of Azov to Turkey, the 1711 ducats were recalled.⁸¹

13. Adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1918

Peter the Great died on January 28, 1725. The Julian calendar (*starij stil*) continued to be used 'til the 20th century. The Gregorian calendar starting January 1 (*novij stil*), was only adopted in February 1918 by suppressing 13 days.⁸² The day after January 31, 1918 (old style) was called February 14, 1918 (new style).⁸³

14. Conclusion

After having reckoned the year date *ab urbe condita* (754 B.C), the Roman Republic adopted the Julian calendar in 46 B.C., with the year starting on January 1. The *Anno Domini* replaced the Republican dating in 526 A.D., and, starting from 1582, the Gregorian calendar replaced the Julian calendar in most of the Catholic states. In the Byzantine Empire the Anno Mundi calendar was used to reckon the years from the "Creation of the World", an event that was supposed to have taken place in 5508 B.C. The grand prince of Kiev and later all the Russian Lands adopted this Anno Mundi era and the Russian calendar also followed the years from the "Creation of the World". The first date, written in Old Cyrillic, appeared on a Novgorodian kopeck in 1596. A few coins bearing dates with Arabic numerals were issued during the 17th century. Other kopecks with Cyrillic dates were struck in the Moscow Mint in 1696-1699. Tsar Peter the Great imposed the Julian calendar in the Russian state on 1 January 1700. Dates continued to be written in Cyrillic on the new, mechanically produced silver, gold and copper coins while Arabic numerals also appeared in some years. From 1710, all gold coins bore definitively dates with Arabic numerals and after 1722 only dates with Arabic numerals were shown on all silver and copper coins.

⁷⁸ BREKKE 1977, p. 26-27.

⁷⁹ BREKKE 1977, p. 28-34.

⁸⁰ BREKKE 1977, p. 34.

⁸¹ SEVERIN 1958, p. 1-3.

⁸² MILANKOVITCH 1924.

⁸³ STRUBBE 1960, p. 47 and n. 8.

Illustrations

1. Feodor Ivanovich (1584-1598), kopeck 1596, Novgorod, MELNIKOVA 1989, 2.
2. Feodor Ivanovich (1584-1598), kopeck 1597, Novgorod, MELNIKOVA 1989, 4.
3. Feodor Ivanovich (1584-1598), kopeck 1598, Novgorod, MELNIKOVA 1989, 5.
4. Alexei Michailovich (1645-1676), rouble, 1654, Moscow, KAIM, pl. 3.
5. Alexei Michailovich (1645-1676), jefimok, 1655, countermarked on a rijksdaalder 1651 of West-Frisia, Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a., Auction 88, 10 June 2006, lot 1792.
6. Peter the Great (1689-1725), poltina, 1699, Moscow, SEVERIN 1965, pl. 1, 16.
7. Peter the Great (1689-1725), kopeck, 1701, Moscow.
8. Peter the Great (1689-1725), rouble, 1704, Moscow, SEVERIN 1965, pl. 3, 138.
9. Peter the Great (1689-1725), rouble, 1710, Moscow, SEVERIN 1965, pl. 7, 264.
10. Peter the Great (1689-1725), altyn, 1714, Moscow, SPASSKY 1967, p. 147, fig. 109, 2.
11. Peter the Great (1689-1725), altyn, 1718, Moscow, SPASSKY 1967, p. 147, fig. 109, 3.
12. Peter the Great (1689-1725), rouble, 1719, Moscow, SEVERIN 1965, pl. 9, 435.
13. Peter the Great (1689-1725), rouble, 1723, Moscow, SEVERIN 1965, pl. 11, 607.

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1↑ 3↓
(enlarged 1.5×)



2↑ 7↓
(enlarged 1.5×)



10
(enlarged 1.5×)



11
(enlarged 1.5×)



4↑ 5↓



6





8



9



12



13



NI

Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, Speculator
Robert Ronus, NI #LM139

A little while ago I bought what seemed to be an intriguing little copper coin of Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza from 1586-91. Here is a detailed description:



Obverse: “AL.F.SPEC_VLATO_R” Bust facing left. Reverse: “II/P”
Cu. 18mm. 1.48 g.

I could not find the coin in the extraordinarily comprehensive CNI. However, Neumann, the great 19th century cataloguer of copper coins, lists it without giving it a denomination (Neumann 18563). Eklund also has it (1004) and calls it a *tessera*. It also appears in the sale catalogue of the great Gnechi collection (3891), where it is called uncertainly a “*quattrino?*” All attribute it to Parma.

The question still remained as to why Alessandro Farnese should give himself the title of SPECVLATOR. Certainly these days that would not be considered something to be proud of! Also, what did II P stand for?

Fortunately Lorenzo Bellesia, the distinguished Italian numismatist who hangs his hat at the firm of Nomisma, was able to give me the answer to these questions.

Firstly, *tessera* is simply Italian for token, which I did not know and my dictionary did not tell me (and perhaps Mr. Eklund did not know either). Between 1590-93 there was a terrible period of famine in Piacenza and some other parts of northern Italy. Under a law dated April 20, 1591, the authorities in Parma struck tokens to be distributed to the poor in Piacenza to allow them to buy bread. The II P on the reverse of my token means 2 *Panes* (= 2 loaves of bread.)

For the obverse the authorities used a die they had used to strike an unusual *parpagliola*, a small billon coin with low silver content. On one side was a bust of Alexander the Great with the legend AL.M(agnus = great). SPECVLVM, meaning mirror, i.e., the model for Alessandro Farnese. On the other side was the bust of the duke with the legend AL.F.SPEC_VLATOR., i.e., the person who looked at the mirror and modeled himself on the earlier great Alexander. Of course, without the reverse with Alexander the Great, the legend on the token makes little sense.

On the following page is a specimens of this *parpagliola*. The nominal weight is 1.4 grams and approximate diameter of approximately 19 mm. The references are CNI IX, p.470, 71-78 (Plate XXX,15) and Varesi 976.



There is another variety of this parpagliola (CNI 52-70, Varesi 975). This die was not used for the bread token but the youthful beardless portrait shows the long affinity Farnese had for his ancient namesake.



Courtesy ARS Classica

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NI

Membership Report

The following person has applied for membership. Unless objections in writing are received by March 1, 2014 the membership is effective that day.

2763 Lorenzo Bellesia C/O Nomisma S.P.A., 47899 Serravelle, Republic of San Marino

The following members are deceased. The NI membership extends our deepest sympathy to their families.

815 Roger Lane, 10866 Blackhawk Street, Plantation, FL 33324-2182
Deceased November 2013.

2585 Dr. Richard Bode, P.O. Box 871 Emporia, KS 66801
Deceased November 2013.



Coin Quiz

Bob Fritsch, NI #LM134

Here are some coinage themes from countries starting with C or D. All lists were compiled from the 31st edition of SCWC and/or the 3rd edition of the 19th Century SCWC.

1. Charles IV, Bernardo O'Higgins, Condor
2. Juan Pablo Duarte, Oxcart, Trujillo
3. Jose Marti, "ABC", Camilo Cienfuegos
4. Christian X, Frederik IX, Margrethe II
5. Charles IV, Simon Bolivar, Liberty.
6. Dove, Rabbit, Salmon, Lynx, Wolf, Goose
7. Karels (Karl's, Charles's) Bridge, Thomas Masaryk, St. Wenceslas
8. Zdeněk Fibich, Brno Cathedral, St. Wenceslas
9. Prawn, Green Turtle, Flamboyant
10. Oak Leaves, Tobacco Plant, Olive Branch, Nightingale

Picture Quiz

Who is this person?



1844-1914

Hint: ...it was Greek to me...

William Shakespeare
The Tragedy of Julius Caesar

Answers on back cover



Update to the Information on the Authorship of the Philip I Medal

David Kenny

The subject of this addendum on the article by Herman Blanton ("A Renaissance Medal of Philip I of Castile" in *NI Bulletin* Vol. 42, No.8, August 2007, pp. 73-74) regarding the history of Philip I of Castile is the origin and authorship of the posthumous medal bearing his titles.

As was stated in the article, Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel when they were 18 and 17, respectively. There were 6 children, born of this marriage, the second of which was Charles (Carlos, Karl), later anointed Holy Roman Emperor.



http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_I_of_Castile

Although Philip is known, alternatively, as Philip the Fair, Philip the handsome, Filip der schone, and Philip the beautiful, the terminology may have lost something in translation. It has been suggested that "Handsome" may also have only meant that he 'cut a fine figure'—as in "hunk" today. Similarly, "Fair" often meant that the person was not 'pockmarked', but not necessarily good looking or blond haired. A portrait of Philip done in the Netherlands circa 1500 shows us a man of 22, who, by today's standards at least, would not be considered to be good looking by any stretch of the imagination.

In fact he looks to be a bit squinty-eyed, weak of chin, and long of nose. But he was father to the man who would

become one of the most powerful figures in European History. If one compares the portrait, presumably done from life, with the portrait on the photo of the medal under consideration, one can see a resemblance, but not one that can be said to be remarkably accurate. In fact the portrait on the medal appears to be of a jowly cheeked man who is somewhat older than 28, the age of Philip's death.



Philip I of Castile
Image courtesy of Dr. Busso Peus Nachf.

By comparison, the Coronation medal of Karl V when he became holy Roman Emperor, created by Albrecht Durer, also bears a portrait which is not particularly accurate, showing the face of a youth of 19 or 20 to be far more idealized than was shown in other contemporary drawings of Karl (Carlos, Charles). Perhaps accuracy wasn't so important to medallic portraiture, especially in the case where the subject died 45 years prior to the creation of the artwork.

It is well known that Philip died in 1506. What caused his death is another matter. The supposition has been made that he died, variously, of typhoid fever, yellow fever, or poison. Considering that his wife, Joanna, was reportedly in a jealous rage half the time, due to Philip's philandering, who's to say if it wasn't poison. Many assert that it was Ferdinand who supplied the supposed poison. In any case, it is well chronicled that Joanna exhumed his corpse, and traveled throughout the Kingdom, searching for a holy man who could resurrect her late husband. Considering the heat of the Andalusian summers, it would be easy to imagine that the corpse turned into Philip-the-not-so-handsome.

In the article, the medal therein illustrated is described as "...undated, original cast silver medal of ...50 mm" diameter. The traditional belief is that the artist was either from Nuremberg or Augsburg, and that the medal was produced in the 1520's. I've also seen suggestions that Hans Schwarz was the author. Alternatively, there are some who would attribute it to a Dutch artist, circa 1560. I propose that this medal was actually made in Milan, possibly from the school or by the hand of Leone Leoni, and possibly at the behest of Philip's grandson, Philip II of Spain, a commission most likely made during Philip's travels in Italy in 1548, or 1551 (see Nomos description below).

As evidence of this authorship, I shall first consider the image of Fortuna on the reverse. A very similar image is illustrated in *The Currency of Fame* by Stephen Scher on page 354. The medal illustrated was made in 1561 by Jacque Jonghelinck, which may be the basis of the theory that the Philip I medal was of Dutch origin. However, Scher (356) states: "the reverse presents an allegorical scene of Italian inspiration." He further references other similar images of Fortuna produced in Italy

as early as 1498. The version of Fortuna which Jonghelinck produced is very similar to the reverse on the medal of Philip I, with the following glaring differences:

The hair and face of the figure, the shape of the sea shell, the modeling of the torso, and the style of the lettering. With just a rudimentary familiarity of Dutch art and Italian art of the mid-16th century, it is very easy to see that the two images, while virtually identical in composition, are vastly different in style, the Italian image shown above being the original, while the Dutch version being the derivative.

During my efforts to locate another medal of similar style to that of Philip, I came across the following example in an auction dated 8 December 2005 and reprinted below courtesy of Morton & Eden from the John R. Gaines Collection part I lot 16.

#16 MILANESE STYLE (mid-16th Century)

Emperor Charles V and Philip II of Spain, large silver medal, .IMP. CAES. CAROLVS. V. AVG. (The Emperor Charles V, Caesar Augustus), laureate bust right wearing cuirass and cloak knotted at shoulder and gathered at breast by a brooch in the form of a winged putto's head, the Order of the Golden Fleece hanging from a cord around the neck, rev., .PHILIPVS. AVSTR. CAROLI. V. CAES. F. (Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor Charles V), Philip in armour, holding a commander's baton, riding to right on charger which bears crest of plumes on its head and with its tail tied in a loop, 97.4mm, with a number of small marks on the edge, otherwise an extremely fine contemporary cast and apparently the only specimen known in silver. Literature: Bernhart 178 (bronze); Armand II, 182, 13; Molinari 322 (lead); Attwood 1182 (uniface, bronze); Scher 156 (bronze, including a trial cast of the reverse). Although Salton and Waldman in *Currency of Fame* have attributed the medal to a Netherlandish medallist, this has not been followed by Attwood who listed the uniface bronze example in the Victoria & Albert collection (VAM.497-1864) under "Unattributed [Italian] medals of unknown location." Armand suggested that it was a pair to a French medal of Francis I of France with Henry II on horseback on the reverse (Armand II, 188, 11) but Attwood discounted this on the basis of style (although he thought that the one may have inspired the other). F. Gimeno Rua in "*Los artistas italianos y los comienzos de la medalla en Espana*", Udine 1973, (1976) proposed Leoni himself but that attribution has not been entirely accepted, although there is no denying that the general style of the medal is Milanese in essence. It must have been made before 1556 when Charles V abdicated. Philip II traveled through Milan at the end of 1548 and again in June of 1551.

In October 2011 it appeared again and the catalog description below is courtesy of Nomos AG, Zurich; Ex Nomos AG, Auction 5, 2011. 33.

Italy, Milan (?). Charles V. 1519-1556. Medal (Silver, 97.4 mm, 311 g 12), a very large cast and chased silver medal of Milanese style. Possibly by Leoni but this is debated, c. 1551-1556. .IMP.CAES.CAROLVS.V.AVG. Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Charles V to right, with his cloak fastened at his breast with a brooch in the form of a winged cherub, and wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece hanging from a cord around his neck. Rev. .PHILIPVS.AVSTR.CAROLI.V.CAES.F. Philip II, wearing armor and holding a marshal's baton in his right hand, riding right on a horse, which has his tail tied in a loop and plumes on his head, prancing to right. Attwood 1182 (a uniface

bronze example of the obverse). Bernhart 178 (bronze). Molinari 322 (lead). Scher, *Currency of Fame*, 156 (bronze). Of great rarity, probably the only known example in silver. Nicely toned. With considerable after casting work: the fields are smoothed, the areas around the lettering stippled, and all the design has been strengthened; very minor bangs and, on the edge, possible traces of having been inset into a holder, otherwise, extremely fine.

From the collections of J. R. Gaines, II, Morton & Eden, 8 December 2005, 16 and of Moritz Wormser, Schulman 226, 30 January 1956, 836 (illustrated on the front and back covers).

The more one looks at this medal, the more impressive it gets. It is a very heavy cast piece with extremely careful work done to it after casting. The portrait of Charles V shows him as a ruler of power, but it is clear that his strenuous life has taken its toll, as he has a look of almost ineffable tiredness. His son, in contrast, even in the small-scale portrait we have of him, appears vigorous and powerful. When this medal was produced is uncertain but it must have been made in the early 1550s. In fact, this medal was produced as part of a pair, the other showing a portrait of François I on the obverse and an equestrian portrait of Henri II (1547-1559) on the reverse, both to left so that they both would be effectively facing the representations of Charles V and Philip II that appear on the present medal. The medal with the French kings (Lyon 20, but without any inscription) is clearly a pendant; they must have both been produced to commemorate the years the two sovereigns were in conflict with each other and the relative peace that ensued in the 1550s.



Charles V / Philip (II)
Image courtesy of Nomos AG

The stylistic similarities with the medal of Philip I are striking, especially when compared side by side. The stippling in the legends of the Carlos medal are virtually identical to the stippling on the globe on which Fortuna stands on the medal of Philip illustrated above. Similarly, the treatment of the clothing on both medals incorporate similar chasing techniques, as well as stylistic conventions. Likewise, the style of lettering is the same. One further item of note. The above medal is 53 mm in

diameter, indicating an earlier, possibly original rendition of this medal, and one on which the original intent of the chasing and workmanship are instantly evident.

This medal of Carlos on the obverse, and an equestrian figure of Philip II on the reverse is well known in bronze, or brassy alloy. Scher illustrates a version on page 347 of *The Currency of Fame*, where it is attributed to an unknown Dutch workshop. However, on page 348, Scher states that the portrait is "a much enlarged adaptation of a portrait type created by the Milanese sculptor, medalist, and die engraver, Leone Leoni." Scher then goes on to present reasons why this medal was made in the Netherlands. Having recently seen another example in brass, I can easily see why Scher believed that there were Dutch origins to this medal.

However, when one sees the magnificent original and apparently unique silver medal, and compares it to the equally well chased details of the 53mm diameter medal of Philip I, along with the existence of a correlated medal of Francois I and Henri II of France, there seems to be enough evidence that all three medals must have been made in the first half of the decade of the 1550's, and in all likelihood in Milan. The portraiture of Leone Leoni is a further link to his workshop. Additional research on this attribution may prove the accuracy of the exact identity of the author of this medal, but the Milanese origin cannot be doubted.

As Philip II of Spain was known to have been traveling in Milan in 1548 and 1551, might not it be supposed that he requested to have a medal of his grandfather produced, perhaps to fill in a "blank" spot in his collection of ancestral medals?

The only other medallic representation I could find of Philip I was a uniface medal made around 1526. In it, he is shown with his second son, Ferdinand. Philip had been dead for 20 years when this medal was made, but the resemblance to his contemporarily painted portrait is stronger.



Hungary/Spain, unknown German medalist, cast uniface Bronze Medal c.1526, Ferdinand (1503-1564), and Philip the Handsome (1478-1506), PHILIP REX CAST LEG ET GRAN P ET FEDINAND REX VNG ET BOE, 81mm (Habich 110). Stained very fine, a later cast. Baldwin's Auction 67 Lot 2541 (Courtesy of A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd, London. www.baldwin.co.uk).

NI

Sovereign Weight as defined by Act of Parliament 1816
Baldwin's



The unique standard Sovereign Weight as defined by Act of Parliament 1816 George III (1760-1820), Trial Gold Flan for a Sovereign, 1816, 22 Carat uniface piece of gold inscribed (engraved) in italic script on obverse in four lines, Stand. Sovereign Wt. by Act of Par. 1816, plain reverse and edge with beveled rims, 7.99g, 19.6mm, thickness 1mm (unpublished in standard reference works). Unique, ex “125 Years of Baldwin’s 1872-1997”, Baldwin’s Auction 15, 13 October 1997, lot 42; ex *An Important Collection of Gold Sovereigns 1816-2000*, offered as one lot, Sothebys, November 2000, lot 525 (part).

After the Battle of Waterloo a reform of the coinage was required and the Government at first thought to reintroduce the Guinea and its fractions. However, the general feeling of the public was that they had become used to banknotes in round figures of a Pound and Two Pounds, rather than the more inconvenient calculations required with multiples of gold Guinea coins. Though the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, desired a return to the Guinea personally (he was briefly Master of the Mint 1799-1801), he was more practically minded and gave no resistance to the concession progressing through Act of Parliament, on the recommendation of the then Master of the Mint William Wellesley Pole. The Privy Council Committee duly recommended coinage of Ten Shilling, Twenty Shilling, Forty Shilling and Five Pound Pieces which was approved by the Prince Regent, 3 August 1816. For further reading see *Royal Sovereign 1489-1989*, edited by G P Dyer, specifically Chapter 3 “The Modern Sovereign.” This intriguing piece is of the utmost historical significance. No doubt it would have been produced for the earliest stage of the process of the introduction of the new Sovereign denomination, once it had been passed by Act of Parliament, 22 June 1816. It is easy to imagine such a piece being passed around a meeting of council members for the committee on coin and such a piece helping visualize the new dimensions for the new Sovereign that came to fruition as currency 1 July 1817. Such trial pieces do not usually survive or even leave such meetings, the first time this piece ever appeared in public for sale was at the Baldwin’s 125 Years celebrations auction in 1997 and remains unpublished in standard works on the subject of the Sovereign. (Courtesy of A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd, London. www.baldwin.co.uk.)

NI

**Unique and Previously Unknown 1755 Nuevo Reino “Milled” 8
Escudos, the First Machine Made 8 Escudos of Colombia
A Numismatic Landmark
Kent Ponterio, Ponterio and Associates, NI #1221**



Colombia, 8 Escudos, “Milled” 1755-S, Nuevo Reino Mint (Bogota) Ferdinand VI (1746-59), Assayer “S” (Sebastian de Rivera). Fr-15 (for type, date unlisted); KM-32.1 (for type, date unlisted); Calico-type-18 (date unlisted); Restrepo-Type-27 (date unlisted); La Onza - (date unlisted); NR-M8-FVI – (date unlisted)

In 2004 the existence of a unique 1755 milled 4 Escudos of Nuevo Reino shocked the numismatic community and the world at large as it received worldwide media coverage. Considered one of the most significant highlights of the famed Louis E. Eliasberg Sr. Collection, the piece made headlines on the front pages of *Coin World*, *World Coin News* and *CNN.com*, as well as newspapers and radio programs in its home city of Bogota.

Prior to the discovery of the Eliasberg 4 Escudos “milled” or machine made coinage from Colombia before 1756 was unknown. The discovery of the Eliasberg coin radically revised our understanding of Colombian coinage, as previously most mainstream numismatists belied that the mint of Nuevo Reino produced solely crudely made, hand hammered “cob” coinage until 1756, and changed to “milled” coinage at some time during that year. The Eliasberg 4 Escudo and this newly discovered 8 Escudos suggest that the mint of Nuevo Reino underwent a transition, rather than a sudden changeover in minting methods. Similar situations occurred at the other Spanish Colonial New World mints. It was not uncommon for a mint to produce multiple coinage types in the same year using different methods, while the transition to mechanization was underway. This can be seen with the Mexico City Mint in the 1730s, where *cob*, *klippe* and *milled* coinage were all produced in the same years. The Potosi mint of Bolivia also experienced a similar transition from 1767-70, when “cob” and “milled” coinages were produced in the same years.

The mint of Nuevo Reino (Bogota) began the steps leading to mechanization in 1753. In this year the crown assumed direct control of the mint by replacing the private treasurers with royal superintendents. The crown appointed Lieutenant Colonel

Miguel de Santiesteban as Superintendent and Don Thomas Sanches Reziante as director. When royal officials arrived at the mint of Nuevo Reino, they noted that everything was done by hand in a crude manner. The production of hand hammered “cob” coinage was ordered to continue temporarily to meet the demand for circulating currency. Thomas Sanchez Reziante then set about reconstructing the mint facilities and modernizing its minting equipment with screw presses and other machinery brought from Spain. The transition from hand hammered “cob” coinage to that of the machine made “milled” coinage produced with a screw press occurred gradually over a two years from 1755 to 1756. Meticulous mintage figures were recorded by the Spanish superintendents starting in 1753, and A.M. Barriga Villaba’s classic reference on Colombian coinage *Historia De Las Casa De Moneda*, shows two distinct sets of mintage figures for gold in this period. The first set of mintage figures shows the amount of gold minted in the form of “cob” coinage for the years 1753-1756, with the totals in marks for each specific year. A second set of mintage figures begins in 1755 and shows mintage figures in marks for milled coinage or *Moneda circular de cordoncillo*. The milled gold coinage of 1755 was produced in the smallest quantity of any Colombian gold coinage of that era. Although the figures do not state the exact number of 4 or 8 Escudos that were minted, they do cite only these two denominations as having been produced. In 1755 just over 32 marks of gold were manufactured into milled 4 and 8 Escudos. The production of gold “cob” coinage this year was considerably more, just over 8,393 marks of gold. In short the Nuevo Reino mint produced more than 262 times the amount of “cob” gold than “milled” gold in 1755.

Currently there are only four known examples of the 1755 “cob” 8 Escudos, while the milled 8 Escudos offered here is unique. The survival of this unique 1755 “milled” 8 Escudos is an amazing anomaly. Its rarity is the result of contributing factors combined with attrition. First, the 1755 milled 8 Escudos were produced in limited quantities and were probably only struck for part of one year. Second, the gradual debasement of coinage within the Spanish Empire also contributed greatly to the rarity of this issue. In 1755 Colombian gold coinage was produced to an official standard 0.9170 fine gold. In 1772 this standard changed to 0.9010, which resulted in earlier dated coins being melted down for a small profit. In fact, the standard changed on several occasions, and earlier dates with a higher gold content were recalled and reminted. In 1785 the fineness was lowered once again, this time to 0.8750, the fineness at which it remained well into the Republican era. During the Republican era it is almost certain that earlier Spanish issues were melted and re-coined either for simple profit or as a show of resentment towards Spain. This set of circumstances has left the numismatic community with this sole surviving example of the first date of machine struck 8 Escudo of Colombia.

The obverse features a draped and armored portrait of King Ferdinand VI of Spain, with the order of the Golden Fleece suspended from his neck. The legend reads “FERDND VI D. G. HISPAN. ET. IND. REX.” with a date of 1755. Translated: “Ferdinand VI by the grace of god, King of Spain and the Indies” 1755. The reverse design features the great Bourbon shield surmounted by the Spanish crown, encircled by the Order of the Golden Fleece. The legend reads “NOMINA MAGNA SEQUOR”. Translated: “I succeed great names” reinforcing the importance and legitimacy of his name in the lineage of Spanish Kings.

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Alfred the Great Penny Monogram Penny

Heritage Rare Coins



Kings of Wessex. Ælfred the Great (871-899) portrait "Monogram" Penny ND, London mint, struck ca. 880, S-1061, North-644 (rare).

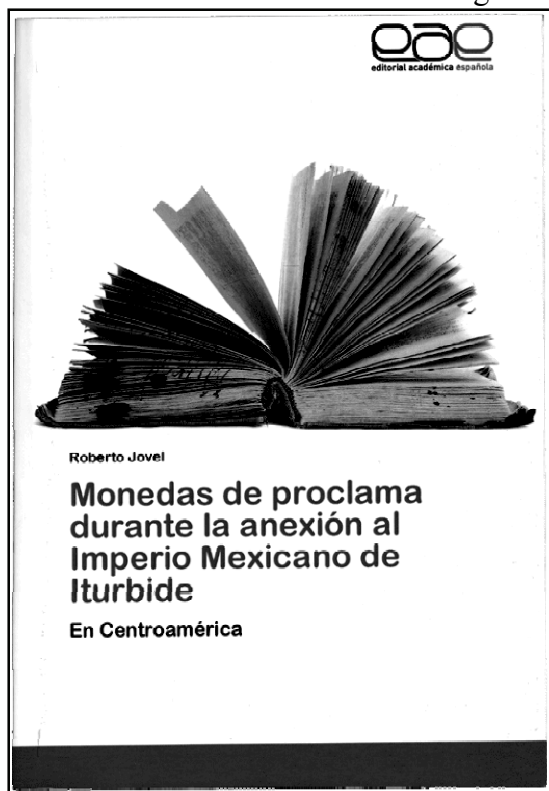
This famous issue has been exceptionally well preserved over the past 1134 years since it was minted. We see here an excellent portrait, with remarkable details across the bust and on the obverse legend; the reverse's Londonia monogram is bold in all parts. The rims are high and complete, no cracks exist, the metal is of good quality, and the surfaces are essentially without blemish. The coin is charming, as well, because of its medieval patina, a combination of bluish silvery gray with iridescent golden hues. Patches of black carbon-based deposits attest to the originality of the piece. The royal title is boldly engraved and struck, as ÆLF REDREX, the final letter not fitting the space and thus placed beneath the "E" near the center of the king's shoulder. Among the finer examples known of this classic Anglo-Saxon penny, it was struck at Ælfred's mint in London, right on the line of ancient Watling Street which marked the boundary between Ælfred's native Wessex and his conquered lands in East Anglia. This long, hard victory was won by a determined king whose army had been decimated by Viking invaders since 870, when Wessex was first attacked. At the time, it was the only remaining kingdom independent of Viking control. Æthelred and his younger brother, Ælfred, had driven back the Danes in 871 at the battle of Ashdown. After Æthelred was killed in a subsequent battle, Ælfred became king, and he retreated to remote Somerset with what remained of his army to refit and plan his next move. The Viking king Guthrum seized control of almost all Anglo-Saxon territory early in 878, driving Ælfred out of Wessex. He had only his reduced forces of thegns and bodyguards at that time, but Ælfred's reputation led many warriors from surrounding counties to join him and, later in the same year, they attacked and defeated the Danish army at the battle of Edington. Knowing he could not defeat all the Vikings, he made peace in a treaty that partitioned England, giving Ælfred control of London. In effect, however, after May of 878, London was his by power of military force. One of the very few extant physical artifacts of this conquest is his famous Monogram Penny, portraying him as king, as we see so clearly here on this historic coin. (Heritage Auctions, Inc., Auction 3029, Selections from the Eric P. Newman Collection of World Coins, 4 - 16 January 2014, Lot: 30109. Courtesy Heritage Auctions, ha.com.)

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Book News and Reviews

Monedas de proclama en Centroamérica durante la anexión al Imperio Mexicano de Iturbide. By J. Roberto Jovel. 1st edition. 2012: San Salvador, El Salvador. 111 pages, illustrated. ISBN 976-00861-0-122-9.

Roberto Jovel's Proclamation Coins in Central America during its Annexation to the Mexican Empire of Agustín de Iturbide might well be subtitled "In Accordance with the Coins and their Historical Background", a subtitle which would fit all of Jovel's



numismatic efforts to date quite well. It is a study of Mexico's two-year presence, from 1821 until 1823, in what were to become the Central American republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. The reasons that Iturbide 'annexed' Central America were both numerous and complex, although one could perhaps sum them up best by stating "because he thought he could, of course!" And Jovel's work on this subject speaks to why, in fact, he couldn't, as well as about the proclamation medals themselves.

Already controlling what were to become the southwestern United States, including California, New Mexico, Arizona and Texas, Iturbide could only look south in this expansionist endeavor. And having broken his originally loyalist ties with Spain by joining forces with

Vicente Guerrero to achieve Mexican independence, he feared that the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, would be coming after him on Mexico's weakest flank, its southern border with Central America. Other former Spanish loyalists, especially in Guatemala, joined forces with Iturbide, perhaps fearing the loss of their privileges should Central America follow in the footsteps of the fledgling United States.

Any changing of the guard regarding such matters as landholding, slavery, taxation, or the role of the Catholic Church would have been perceived as threatening. For such were the bases, within a societal framework largely agricultural in nature, upon which colonial Latin America had been established since the original Spanish conquest some three centuries earlier. It should be emphasized as well that the Spanish nobility had traditionally been exempt from direct taxation, and that the Church was itself a major landholder with close ties to the nobility. Religion and government were hardly considered to be separate entities.

In the U.S., freedom of religion had already been established, something the Central American ecclesiastic authorities and the nobility were not about to allow without a fight. The American social contract, almost by definition, was in flux over such issues as slavery, Manifest Destiny, immigration and the constant struggle between regional federalism and a strong central authority. And in Mexico, no one could yet be sure

whether the soon to be established Monroe Doctrine, although written in 1823 to prevent the re-colonization of Latin America by European powers, would permit the project of imperialist expansion Iturbide had in mind. Indeed, if not Spain, then perhaps the United States, or even the great European powers of the day, Britain or France, might set their sights on some colonial ventures of their own, especially in such an under-populated, loosely governed and resource-rich region. And so Iturbide made his move while he had the chance. His window of opportunity would be brief; Mexico gained independence in 1821. By the end of 1823, the entire Central American Federation would unite against him. It was to be, in fact, one of the few matters they would ever reach unanimity on.

But for two years, Iturbide made annexation a reality. He was hardly an absolute monarch, as was Ferdinand VII in Spain, who actually believed in the divine right of kings to rule over their subjects. On the contrary, Iturbide was often all-too-willing to negotiate, while conserving such Spanish traditions as the Catholic religion and the emission of proclamation medals commemorating his coronation. Such pieces were the focus of Jovel's previous work on proclamation medals used as coins in the Audiencia of Guatemala. Although he saw himself as an enlightened despot, as had Napoleon Bonaparte, Iturbide failed to consider the fact that some of what he treated as mere banana republics had democratic ideals of their own. Foremost among these was tiny El Salvador, which is not by coincidence the homeland of author Jovel himself. When Iturbide's army marched in to seize control, the Salvadorans sent several of their most enlightened citizens to Boston to lobby – amazingly, considering the geographic and cultural disparities involved – for Salvador's admission to statehood!

Here we are reminded of Benjamin Franklin's and Thomas Jefferson's stints as emissary and ambassador to France, while imbuing themselves with the ideals, if not the actual practices, of the French Revolution. While the American patriots in France were equally interested in establishing a counterweight to the naval hegemony of Great Britain, El Salvador was as yet without allies, its very existence a mere concept, and possessed of only a few hundred freedom fighters. At most they could hope to distract the Mexican Empire for a matter of weeks, while their emissaries in Boston sought acceptance as the newest state, 'Salvador'.

But perhaps this military and diplomatic holding action is best seen as a latter-day version of the Boston Tea Party, which itself had possessed only the hope of igniting a symbolic, but passionate spark. One of the Salvadorans' goals was that this seemingly unrealistic action would attract attention elsewhere in Central America. Although even far-off Boston was closer to Central America than was, say, Madrid, the former seat of power, it was the idea of resistance rather than actual statehood which was to become the ultimate goal. This indeed occurred, as the fleeing Salvadoran skirmishers were granted temporary refuge in neighboring Nicaragua, which harbored the ousted rebels just long enough to give other Central Americans the notion that the juggernaut of the unwieldy Mexican Empire could be successfully resisted.

Before the tiny group of Salvadorans ostensibly seeking statehood even had the chance to make their case in Boston, it turned out that word-of-mouth, even in 1823, could 'go viral', seemingly travelling much more quickly than contemporary sailing ships or armies. Today we may well wonder, how? But then again, these few

Salvadorans, as they put up a resistance consisting largely of surprise, and ideas, whether in Nicaragua or El Salvador, were in fact closer to home than the Mexican army of invasion. Just as Boston Harbor had been closer to Lexington and Concord than to Buckingham Palace. It certainly helps, when you are trying to become something you may not have even clearly defined, to know who you are *not*. And the inhabitants of the ‘Audiencia de Guatemala’ – as Central America had been defined until independence from Spain – had come to realize they were neither Spaniards nor Mexicans, both relative military giants whose sole power was to invade, but rather *Central Americans*.



Minted in Guatemala City, the five volcanos seen here on the obverse of the 8 reales of the Central American Federation symbolize the nations comprising this short-lived entity: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

Ultimately, Mexicans themselves became fed up with their Emperor, and Iturbide was forced into exile. Local patriotism had triumphed over imperialist expansion after all. In fact, this process had just begun. Each of the five components which had once knuckled under to Spanish, and then Mexican hegemony in Central America would go on, after a brief experiment with federation, to declare their independence from each other as well as from European or New World powers. The retreating Mexican armies of the now ousted Iturbide did manage to ‘pick off’ one Guatemalan province, which became the southernmost Mexican state of Chiapas, then as now a Mayan stronghold, which remains an at times rebellious thorn in the claw of the Mexican eagle to this very day.

To the north, in the ensuing decades, Texas would develop separatist ideas of its own; perhaps this had (has?) always been the case to some extent. Iturbide’s henchman, the general Vincent Filisola, had already had enough problems controlling tiny El Salvador. It turned out that Iturbide had failed to provide him with money to pay his troops. Although the newly issued proclamation medals were then pressed into service to be used as coin of the realm, there were never enough to prevent the angered imperial Mexican troops from sacking the ‘subdued’ regions to pay themselves, committing atrocities as they went which would quickly prove counterproductive. At this point, public opinion throughout Central America had turned against the man who would be Emperor.



Mexican and would-be Central American Emperor Agustín de Iturbide, seen here on a proclamation medal formally denominated as two *reales* – about the size of a U.S. large size Bust quarter dollar – of Honduras, from 1823. As we can see, proclamation coins actually circulated. [Image credit: Carlos Jara. Same specimen Hans Schulman 1966 sale of the Gibbs Collection.]

History was soon to repeat itself. Twice, in fact. For slightly over a decade later, the very same Mexican general would face similar financial problems when he attempted to subdue a rebellious, independently minded Texas, which by the time of the Mexican-American War would no longer be the stronghold Filísola would have needed if Mexico were to have the slightest chance of retaining the rest of its territories north of the Río Grande. Yet another lesson – in military terms, and certainly in terms of ‘winning hearts and minds’ – had not been learned. One that bears repeating: ‘Sic transit Gloria mundi’. ‘Thus passes all worldly glory’. This dictum could be expanded: ‘Meanwhile, pay your troops’.

Author Roberto Jovel received the ideas for his latest series of books, on Central American proclamation medals used as actual coinage, as long ago as 1998, during brainstorming sessions held by the now defunct Central American Numismatic Society (ANUCA). He further developed and documented them through painstaking archival research. His investigative travels have led him to all the Central American capital cities, as well as to South America, in particular to Santiago de Chile, where he currently resides. Jovel always documents his sources carefully; he is in this respect an academic writer. Conclusions on a socio-political level are something he leaves to each reader, often embedding little-known, but in reality astonishing facts within otherwise straight-forward academic discourse, such as the previously mentioned sojourn of the Salvadoran embassy to Boston, or the repeated failures of General Filísola both north and south of the Mexican border. As a reader, even when somewhat familiar with the ultimate outcomes, one begins to suspect “I didn’t know the half of it.” We can only hope, although never assume, that Jovel will put his fluent command of the English language to work and quickly translate his latest works on Central American proclamation medals into English, as he has done with his previous efforts, thus bringing his refreshing style and the fascinating numismatic history of his homeland to a wider circle of enthusiasts. At least this has been the goal of this reviewer.

Reviewed by David B. Fiero, NI #2115

Collecting Lao Financial Instruments

Howard A. Daniel III, NI #1144

According to my research, the Lao created and issued their first financial instrument, a boat-shaped (*lat*) ingot/bar in about 1565. Ingots/bars in several designs were likely minted until the early 1900's in copper and silver alloys. There were also cowrie shells (*bia*) in circulation during this time and the first French Lao protectorate head tax was in cowries!

If you have any of the ingots/bars in your collection, please contact me with a description of them. I am writing a Lao catalog and still looking for varieties of them, and it could be just a difference in weight or a slight to major differences in their shapes. Some of the ingots/bars have marks stamped on them and there are also difference in them.

Many years after the French Lao protectorate began in 1893, *Indo-Chine Francaise* coins and *Banque de l'Indo-Chine* bank notes started to circulate within what became the Kingdom of Laos. The 1890-dated Piastre, which is reported to have its entire mintage sent to Vientiane, is very scarce because most of them were likely melted by the Lao for their jewelry.

The first French buildings built in Laos were likely the tax building, treasury building, and a central post office building in Vientiane. One building, which I cannot find its opening and closing dates, is for the Banque de l'Indo-Chine. I have not found it in references so I have been looking at the bank postal covers to find the first and last dates it was operating.

Do you have postal covers from the Banque de l'Indo-Chine or other banks in Laos? If so, please send images of them to me. There are envelopes for the *Caisse d'Epargne de Saigon* but there could be for other cities in Cochinchine and Indo-Chine which used them. Does anyone have one or more envelopes for this agency in Laos (or Cambodia)?

The French administration created a red flag for Laos with the three-headed elephant on a stand and under a parasol, and a small French flag in the upper left corner. During World War II, Free Thai and Free Lao underground groups were created. British SEAC and US OSS agents worked with both groups.

After World War II, the Free Lao group became the *Lao Issara* and resisted the return of the French into Laos. They developed a flag with horizontal stripes. I have found only one black and white photograph with that flag laying across the laps and knees of several people. I need a flat image of this flag, preferably in color.

The colonial and independent post offices in Laos sold postal money orders, French reply coupons and international reply coupons. There were also postal banks with savings accounts with passbooks, checking accounts with checks and checkbooks, and other financial papers. I need to see images of one or more of these pieces.

I recently discovered the name of the *Le Cassier General* on a French Kingdom of Laos note which was identified for many years only as "Uigi" because that is what the signature looked like. It is not that name but Yves Digo. If you know the names of signatures on any Lao notes, please contact me about them.

For every piece I use in my catalogs, there is an acknowledgement of the people who sent it to me, and for those people sending significant pieces and/or information, they

are also in the List of Contributors. Please contact me at P.O. Box 626, Dunn Loring, VA 22027-0626 USA or at HADaniel3@msn.com. I am looking forward to your correspondence.



Coin Quiz Answers

1. Chile 2. Dominican Republic 3. Cuba 4. Denmark 5. Colombia 6. Canada (specifically, the 1967 Confederation Centennial coinage) 7. Czechoslovakia 8. Czech Republic 9. Cayman Islands 10. Croatia.

Picture Quiz Answer

This obituary appeared in the 1914 edition of *the Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of The Royal Numismatic Society*.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD

As we go to press, the news comes of the death, on June 12, after a long and painful illness patiently endured, of Barclay Vincent Head, formerly a Vice-President of the Royal Numismatic Society (1908), and from 1869 to 1910 one of the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle. Mr. Head joined the staff of the British Museum in 1864; from 1893 to 1906 he was Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals. For readers of the Numismatic Chronicle it is unnecessary to dwell upon the achievements of the man under whom the English School of Greek Numismatics, rose to the first rank. Nor is this the place to characterize the personal qualities which endeared him to those who had the good fortune to work with or under him. In our next issue we hope to give a full bibliography of his numismatic writings.

THE EDITORS

Head wrote many of the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals volumes in the series *Catalogue of Greek Coins*. He also authored many other works including of course his *Historia Numorum, a Manual of Greek Numismatics*.

